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Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—On Monday evening, December the 1st ultimo, the Rev. Newman Hall delivered a lecture in Surrey Chapel, to upwards of 2000 working men and others, on "Passing Events." The lecture, which defended Mr. Lincoln's policy, was thoroughly anti-slavery, from beginning to end, and was received with great applause.

On the same evening, Messrs. Coningham and White, members of Parliament for Brighton, addressed a large meeting of their constituents, in the Town Hall there. They both spoke in favour of the policy of the Federal Government, and deprecated any interference in the present quarrel.

On Wednesday evening, 3rd ult., a meeting of the friends of the "London Confederate-States' Aid Association," was held in the drawing-room of a house in Devonshire Street, Portland Place, on which occasion a Dr. Lempriere addressed a very small auditory, and advocated the views of the Southern Confederacy. The Association, which has been quite recently formed, has issued an appeal for aid, one of the objects for which the funds which may be collected are to be appropriated being, to supply the Southerners with arms and ammunition. The Association does not appear to have yet secured much patronage, and no discussion is allowed at its meetings.

On Thursday, the 4th, at the celebration of the third Anniversary of the Maldon Liberal Independent Club, in the public Hall,

Maldon, Mr. Charles Buxton, M.P., made a speech, in which he is reported to have stated that he did not believe the conquest of the South by the North would lead to the abolition of Slavery, and to have suggested as an ideal solution of the question at issue, that the North should offer to the South, independence, and the surrender of all that portion of the South lying between the Mississippi and the Potomac.*

Professor Newman and the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, have had a spirited correspondence on the subject of the latter's publicly expressed views tending to favour the South. Mr. Gladstone qualifies his Newcastle escapade, but the Professor returns to the charge, and, in our opinion, gets much the best of the argument.

On Monday evening, the 8th ult., a meeting was held in Church Street Chapel, Edgeware Road, on the subject of the American war. The Rev. Dr. Burns, Minister of the Chapel, presided, and the Rev. Mr. Rylance, Mr. Wilks, and Mr. Gavin attended as a deputation from the Emancipation Society. The meeting was well attended, and resolutions in favour of the Federal policy were unanimously adopted.

At a meeting of the "London Committee of Correspondence with America," held at the Congregational Library, Blomfield

* This would be simply giving up quite one-fourth part of the Union, and one-third of its population! The *Morning Star* of the 6th of December contains a complete analysis of this "ideal solution."—(Ed. A. S. R.)

Street, on the 3rd ult., a resolution was adopted, commending all Christian congregations to pray for the slaves, and adverting to the omission, in the circular of the Evangelical Alliance—inviting British Christians to united prayer in the second week in January—of all mention of the slaves.

On Tuesday evening the 10th ult., Mr. E. A. Leatham, M.P. addressed his constituents, in the Philosophical Hall, Huddersfield. The audience was estimated at 2000, under the presidency of Wright Miller, Esq., ex-Constable. The hon. Gentleman delivered an admirable speech, and most thoroughly vindicated the policy and the course of the Federal Government.

On Friday evening, the 12th ult., a crowded meeting assembled at the Lambeth Baths, Westminster Road, to express sympathy with the anti-slavery party in America, the chair being occupied by the Rev. Newman Hall. The meeting was addressed by the Chairman, Mr. Murphy, Mr. Evans, Mr. George Thompson, Mr. Law, Mr. Parkes, the Rev. J. H. Rylance, (who attended as a deputation from the Emancipation Society) Mr. Huntingdon, Mr. Maxwell, the Rev. W. Hawkins, Mr. F. W. Chesson, and William Andrew Jackson, late Jefferson Davis' coachman. Resolutions in favour of the Federal Government were unanimously adopted.

A meeting on the same subject was held in the Schoolroom, Exmouth Street, Clerkenwell, on Thursday evening, the 15th, the Rev. E. T. Thoresby in the Chair. The speakers were the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, Mr. W. Wilks, the Rev. Dr. Massie, Mr. Wilcocks, Mr. George Thompson, the Rev. Mr. Elliott, and W. A. Jackson. Resolutions in favour of the North, were carried with only one dissenting voice.

Mr. Locke, M.P. addressed his constituents at the Bridge House Hotel, on Tuesday evening, the 16th, and gave his views in favour of the policy of the Federal Government.

On the same evening Mr. Cobden, M.P. delivered a public address upon the distress in the manufacturing districts, to the inhabitants of Midhurst, on their own requisition. His exposition of the cause of the American civil war was most lucid and conclusive, and wholly anti-slavery. We reserve extracts for another occasion.

On the 18th, at Birmingham Town Hall, Messrs. J. Bright and W. Scholefield addressed their constituents. Mr. Scholefield advocated, amidst much uproar, the speedy recognition of the South, and was followed by Mr. Bright, who vindicated the North amidst deafening applause.

On Wednesday evening, the 10th ult. a lecture was delivered in Cook Street Chapel, by W. C. Leng, Esq., to the Dundee Lite-

rary and Scientific Institution, on the "American War: the aims, antecedents, and principles of the Belligerents." We regret we have no space for the reproduction of the chief points of this excellent Lecture, which presented a masterly exposition of the designs of the South, and sustained the policy of the Northern Government.

An Association has been formed, called "The London Confederate-States' Aid Association,"—offices, No. 3 Devonshire Street, Portland Place—whose object is "to give countenance and support to the Confederate States of America in their struggle to establish and maintain their independence." All monies received, over and above the amount necessary to meet the current expenses of the Association, are to be appropriated to the "purchasing and forwarding to the Confederate States the materials which, in the judgment of the Association, shall be considered the best calculated to enable them to carry on the war, and to bring their present protracted struggle to a successful issue." In the printed address of the Association, it alleges its belief that "the present war in America is an unholy and an unjust war, and that the Washington Government have no just cause or constitutional grounds of war against the South."*

Mr. Peter Sinclair is publishing, through J. Caudwell, 335 Strand, a pamphlet, in two parts, of which the first is out, entitled, "Freedom or Slavery in the United States."

The Emancipation Society has issued an address to the ministers of the various religious denominations, asking them to give prominence to the subject of negro emancipation in their new-year's service.

The "Committee of Correspondence on Slavery in America" has issued an address, appealing to the members of the various religious denominations throughout the country, to use their efforts to fix public attention upon the essential immorality of Slavery, that it is the cause of the calamitous civil war in the United States, and to endeavour to awaken public sympathy in favour of its absolute and immediate removal. We shall place the text of this excellent address on record in our forthcoming issue.

John Anderson, the fugitive slave, sailed for the Republic of Liberia, in the *Armenia*, Royal African mail steamer, on the 26th ult. Anderson was accompanied as far as Liverpool by his late preceptor, Mr. John Pool, of the British Training Institution, Corby, near Thrapston, Northamptonshire; and amongst his fellow-passengers was the Rev Alexander

* We have recorded the establishment of this Association as an item of news. We believe it will not be supported, and it is unworthy of serious notice.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

Crummell, M.A., the distinguished scholar who fills the office of Professor in the National College of Liberia. Mr. William Tweedie will shortly publish the "Story of the Life of John Anderson," which will contain full particulars as to his early career, and the claim made for his rendition two years ago. On the evening previous to his departure, he was entertained at a farewell *soirée* held at Shirley's Temperance Hotel. The company assembled on the occasion consisted chiefly of members of the Committee who assumed the responsibility of his education during the period of his residence in this country. Harper Twelvetees, Esq., the chairman of the Committee, presided at the meeting. A satisfactory report of the progress made by Anderson at school was furnished by Mr. Poole, and speeches were delivered by the Rev. Dr. Hewlett, Professor Allen (a gentleman of colour), and Messrs. Noble, jun., Cooke Baines, F. W. Chesson, W. Farmer, and J. A. Horner. Resolutions were passed expressing the earnest desire of the meeting for the prosperity of John Anderson, and wishing success to the Negro Republic of Liberia; also thanking Mr. Twelvetees, the Hon. Authur Kinnaird, Mr. Gerald Ralston, the consul-general for Liberia, and others, for the trouble they have taken on Anderson's behalf.

A meeting of working men, on the subject of the abolition of Slavery and the maintenance of the American Union, was announced to take place on New-Year's Eve, at seven o'clock, in the Free-trade Hall, Manchester, to pass resolutions and adopt an address to President Lincoln against Secession and Slavery, and in favour of Union and Liberty. Thomas Bazley, Esq., M.P., and other gentlemen, were to address the meeting.

AFRICA.—The last African mail does not bring much intelligence. The King of Dahomey has renewed the expression of his desire to cultivate a closer intimacy with the English. The slave-trade continued from Whydah. On the 29th of October a screw steamer got off with nearly a thousand slaves. The actual number is stated to have been 920. President Benson reached Cape Palmas, from England, on the 16th of November, and had spoken in high terms of his reception in London and elsewhere.

Mr. R. Campbell writes from Lagos hopefully of his prospects. He had been unable to bring into use the cotton-gin he had brought from England, and purposed starting a newspaper.

FRANCE.—During the last week in November ult. the Court of Assizes of the Seine Inférieure, was engaged for three days, trying eleven persons on a charge of slave-trading. Twenty persons were implicated, but nine were not present. The accused

were acquitted. Particulars will be found in another column.

The Journal des Debats of the 19th ult. publishes a translation by M. Augustin Cochon, of the Address on the American Crisis, recently issued by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*.

The *Avenir Commercial*, referring to the struggle in the United States, says that the men of the South declare that the threat of emancipating the slaves is a brutal violation of the usages of civilized war, and that, as an outrage on the rights of private property, as an invitation to the atrocities of a servile war, it deserves the execration of the human race. "They only forget one thing," the *Avenir* continues, "viz. that, long ago, the conscience of the human race, excepting within the limits of the Confederation, has considered Slavery to be a brutal violation of the usages of civilization, and a sanguinary outrage on the rights of private property."

An article has appeared in the *Revue Nationale*, from the pen of Mr. Laboulaye, member of the Institute. He argues that Europe cannot interfere in the American quarrel without complicating the European difficulties which have sprung out of it; that the Federal Government does not wage a war of conquest, but of freedom; and that it is in duty bound to preserve intact the Union such as it existed when Mr. Buchanan was elected, with the exception of Slavery, the cause of the civil war, and of all the suffering it occasions both on this and the other side of the Atlantic. He is of opinion that war would no longer be an acute and accidental disorder in America, but a chronic one, were the Mississippi States absolutely in the possession of a Government hostile to the North. The article has had great success.

Count Agenor de Gasparin has issued a small volume, entitled, "America before Europe: Principles and Interests." It is an excellent exposition of the causes of the present struggle in America. A translation has been published by Sampson Low and Son, Ludgate Hill.

SPAIN.—The Spanish Government has conferred upon M. Tito Visino, Consul for Bavaria at Havana, now in England, the large gold medal and diploma, being the first prize for the best work upon the resources of Cuba, and the relative advantages of free over slave-labour, and upon the best mode of instituting a free immigration into that island. This prize was offered in 1857, by the Royal Commission of the Great Agricultural Exhibition of that year. The King has placed the manuscript—which is splendidly illustrated by the author—in his private library, and has sent him a complimentary letter, through the Duke de Veragua.

The manuscript was on view in the Spanish department of the recent International Exhibition, and the work will shortly be published in the Spanish and German languages. The author demonstrates, by an accumulation of facts, founded on a personal experience of twenty-six years, that slave-labour is far dearer than free-labour, and that white labourers can work harder and better in Cuba than negroes.

UNITED STATES.—*Congress.*—President Lincoln opened the sittings of Congress on the 4th of December. His message is deeply interesting. Such portions of it as relate to the present struggle and the negro question we give in another column.

In the House of Representatives, a Bill, introduced by Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, to indemnify the President for infractions of the Habeas-Corpus Act, was passed by a vote of 90 against 45. It has also passed a Bill indemnifying President Lincoln for suspending a writ of *habeas corpus*, and a resolution, endorsing the President's emancipation proclamation, had been adopted by a vote of 78 against 51.

Mr. G. Brown, the newly-elected Abolition Member to Congress from Missouri, had issued a proposal, urging the Northern States to agitate the question of a gradual emancipation of the slaves in Missouri; and Mr. Noell, of Missouri, had introduced a Bill, which had been referred, to procure the abolition of Slavery in Missouri, and provide compensation to loyal owners.

In the Senate, Mr. Davis, of Kentucky, offered a resolution, which was laid on the table, declaring that after it had become manifest that an insurrection against the United States was about to break out in several Southern States, James Buchanan, then President, from sympathy with the conspirators and their treasonable projects, failed to take the necessary and proper measures to prevent it; wherefore he should receive the censure and condemnation of the Senate and of the American people.

A resolution had been offered in Congress to hold a convention of delegates from all the States, at Louisville, in April next, to consider the state of the country, and the proper means to be pursued for restoring the Union.

A Bill had passed both Houses, by virtue of which Western Virginia is to be constituted a member of the Union. It stipulates for and provides that all slave-children who shall be, on the 4th of March next, under ten years of age, shall be free at the age of twenty-one; that all slaves between ten and twenty years, shall be free at the age of twenty-five; and that no slave shall be brought into the State for residence. It will be necessary to send

the Bill for ratification to a convention of the people.

President Lincoln has ordered the Attorney-General to take measures for carrying out the Confiscation Act. The order calls upon all the military authorities to assist the Executive in accomplishing the Act.

The report of the Federal Secretary of War has been published. It states that the Federal army at present numbers 800,000 fully armed and equipped men. When the quotas are filled the army will number 1,000,000 men. The report of the Secretary of the Navy says that the Federal naval force consists of 323 steamers and 104 sailing vessels, carrying in all 3268 guns.

The Federal Government has issued an order for the release of all prisoners held in military charge for discouraging the enlistments and opposing the draft. All persons arrested in the Rebel States for hostility to the Federal Government will be discharged on parole, or allowed to leave the country. This does not refer to persons who have been in arms against the Government.

The report of Mr. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, shews that the debt of the United States on the 30th of June 1862, was 514,211,371 dollars. Mr. Chase estimates that it will be, on the 30th of June 1863, 1,122,403,000 dollars; and on the 30th of June 1864, no less than 1,744,685,000 dollars. This is upon the supposition that the war may last so long, and be carried on upon the present gigantic scale.

The War.—The army of the Potomac, under General Burnside, had bombarded and taken Fredericksburg. On the 13th, it advanced against the Confederates, who were strongly posted within the intrenchments they had had time to construct, and, after a bloody battle, were compelled to retreat. The contest lasted till night-fall. Under cover of the darkness, General Burnside recrossed the Potomac, with his whole army, and without losing a man. The official report states that the Federal losses amounted to 1400 killed and 8000 wounded.

The Confederate General Lee has officially reported his loss at 1800 killed and wounded.

The Confederate Generals Thomas, Cobb, and Gregg are killed.

The Confederates had made a demonstration against Harper's Ferry, but were repulsed.

Northern accounts state that the Confederates had captured Kingston, North Carolina with 500 prisoners and eleven pieces of artillery.

Fighting was going on in the vicinity of Corinth, Mississippi. Federal General

Grant continued to advance, and had occupied Abbeville, which had been abandoned by the Confederates, as also Holly Springs. Grant, Price, and Pemberton were acting in conjunction, against Bragg, whose command consisted of 15,000 men.

A battle had been fought at Cane Hill, Arkansas, between General Marmaduke (Confederate), with 8000 men, and Federal Brigadier-General Blunt, on the 28th November, resulting in the defeat of the Confederates.

The Confederates are massed at Tullahoma (Tennessee) in order to resist the advance of Rosecrantz from Nashville.

Hudsonville (Mississippi) has been occupied by the Federals.

General M'Clermand was at Columbus, Kentucky, organizing a formidable expedition to open the Mississippi. His force would consist entirely of Western and North-Western regiments. The flotilla, under Commodore Porter, would consist of ten gunboats, mounting 121 guns. The first difficulty to be overcome would be Vicksburg, which had been strongly fortified by the Confederates. The canal dug by order of General Butler last summer would, it was believed, be of no use to the Federals in attacking Vicksburg, the guns of that place commanding the *debouché* of the canal, part of which had been filled up by the Confederates. They had also fortified Port Hudson, a place 150 miles from New Orleans. From this port to Lake Providence steamboats were running. The Confederates were also running boats on Red River, bringing immense supplies of cattle from Texas, and large quantities of salt from the new salt works on Red River, which are situated about fifty miles above its mouth. The total force of the expedition for opening the river would consist of about 40,000 men and forty gunboats.

A Federal expedition which had gone up the Mississippi had discovered that the crop of cotton remaining in the States of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas has been over-estimated. The destruction of cotton having been very considerable, only a few thousand bales remained in the counties bordering the river.

A powerful naval expedition, under General Banks, had sailed, but its destination remained a secret.

Upwards of 100,000 Federal soldiers are on the sick list.

The Southern journals estimate the Confederate loss by disease and battles within the last ten months at 75,000 men, and say the number will reach 100,000 by the end of the year.

President Jefferson Davis has ordered the Confederate General commanding the Mississippi department to demand the surrender

of Federal General M'Neil for murdering ten Confederate citizens of Missouri. If this is refused, and the charges are proved to be true, the Confederate General is instructed to execute the first ten Federal officers that are captured.

The Legislature of Alabama has placed 1,000,000 dollars at the disposal of the Governor, and authorized him to impress one-tenth of the negroes in Alabama to erect defences. The negroes will at once commence to obstruct the channels leading into Mobile Bay, and in the rivers above the city.

Miscellaneous.—The Chamber of Commerce of New-York city has held a meeting to take measures for the relief of the distress in Lancashire. The majority of the speakers deprecated conducting the movement in a way to obtain favour with one class in England, but urged that it should be based exclusively on the grounds of Christian charity. It was America's duty to feed a brother nation in distress. Messrs. Griswold and Co. offered a new ship of 1800 tons burden to convey food to England, not only as a relief for the suffering poor, but as a token of respect for the Queen and her friendship for America. A Committee was appointed to collect subscriptions in money and grain from all parts of the country. 26,000 dollars in cash was subscribed on the spot.

The following resolutions were passed by the Chamber :

Resolved—That the citizens of New York are deeply pained to learn that the operatives in many of the manufacturing districts of Great Britain are now greatly suffering for want of food, and that, too, while our country is blessed with unequalled abundance ; and that we feel bound by every principle of gratitude to God and love to man to exert ourselves at once to relieve that distress.

Resolved—That a Committee of fifteen be appointed by the Chair to devise the most effectual mode of affording the relief required ; that they proceed at once to collect subscriptions, both in money and food, from all parts of the country, and especially from the great food-producing States, and for that purpose to correspond with any Committee to be there appointed ; that such subscriptions be invested in food as fast as received, and forwarded, without delay, to such agents in England as the Committee may select.

Resolved—That the Committee be authorized, in their discretion, to unite with any other Committee in this city for the above object, and also to increase their own number.

The following Committee was appointed :
John C. Green, John J. Aston, jun., C.

H. Marshall, John J. Phelps, Moses Taylor, S. B. Ruggles, S. D. Badcock, A. T. Stewart, George Griswold, E. E. Morgan, R. B. Minter, E. C. Nye, J. T. Johnston, R. L. Kennedy, William E. Dodge, John Jay, Thomas Tileston, S. B. Chittenden, and M. A. Low.

A resolution has been proposed in Congress that an American war vessel should accompany any ship carrying provisions for Lancashire, to protect her from pirates.

A private letter from a general commanding Union forces in Mississippi, speaks in the strongest terms of the utility of the President's Proclamation of freedom as a weapon of war. The writer says that Southern society has been completely demoralized by it. Some planters have fled to the cities for protection from the spectre of insurrection, leaving all their moveable property at the mercy of their slaves. Many others have sold their negroes South; all are making the most strenuous efforts to keep the Proclamation from the knowledge of the slaves, but without avail. Accounts from Arkansas represent the slaveholders of the State as similarly affected.

General Scott has finally replied in brief terms to Mr. Buchanan. He states that he has received many official courtesies from the late President of the United States; but to vindicate justice and the truth of history is a paramount obligation. He then shews that certain Southern States received an undue proportion of arms, and that many of them were not worthless nor condemned.

WEST INDIES.—Our most recent files bring no intelligence of importance from the West Indies.

St. Vincent.—The Legislature has passed two Acts, one called "The Riots Indemnity Act," the other "The Riots' Expenses Act." The first ratifies the proclamation of martial law, indemnifies all persons engaged in suppressing "insurrection," constitutes the Lieutenant-Governor's certificate conclusive evidence of acts of suppressing insurrection, indemnifies for pressing forage for the public service, and compensates for the same, and decrees the withholding of the right of *habeas corpus* from all persons in custody on account of the riots, if the same are in durance on the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor. The second appropriates 2000*l.* out of the Immigration Fund, repayable within twelve months, out of the general revenue, to the liquidation of the expenses incidental to putting down the late riots.

French Colonies.—The Council-General of Martinique had rejected the convention concluded with England for the recruitment of coolies, and had expressed a wish for the introduction of negroes from the United States.

Surinam.—From Surinam intelligence has been received of an affray between the Dutch troops and a body of six hundred runaway slaves, who had formed an encampment up the river, at the distance of a few miles from Paramaribo. In attempting to cross a swamp which protected the encampment, three of the soldiers were killed and five others wounded by the runaways, some of whom fired from tree-tops. The soldiers retreated and sent for reinforcements, which were at once forwarded in Government vessels.

It is said that there seems to be a sentiment of rejoicing among all classes there, bond and free, by reason of the approaching emancipation. The institution has not, for many years, been profitable in Curaçoa. There are many persons held in Slavery, nearly white, that is, of so slightly dark blood that it cannot be discriminated. Many cases are reported of extreme cruelty having been practised by owners upon their slaves on this island. The first cargo of slaves ever known to have been imported into the United States was from Curaçoa, by the Dutch, while they held their possessions of New Amsterdam, &c. Peter Stuyvesant, who had governed the island and dependencies, was appointed to govern the Dutch possessions in North America in 1640, or about this time, and was the last of their Governors.

Our private advices state that the law for emancipating the slaves on the 1st of July next, had been proclaimed by the Colonial Government, in the Dutch and Negro-Dutch languages. The slaves were highly rejoiced. Two deputations, one of men and another of women, waited on the Governor, and desired him to convey to the King of Holland their thanks for the boon of freedom, promising to shew, by their behaviour and industry, that they were worthy of it. Copies of the law and of the proclamation were bought by many slaves, and groups of them formed in the streets to hear one of their number read the documents. Many who could not read, bought the papers and kissed them.

THE FREEDMEN OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

OFFICIAL REPORT.

WE subjoin the text of the official report on the Freed Negroes of South Carolina, which will be found a suitable pendant to the one so admirably drawn up by J. Miller McKim:

Port Royal, June 2, 1862.

To the Hon. S. P. Chase,

Secretary of the Treasury.

SIR,—Upon the transfer of the supervision of affairs at Port Royal from the Treasury to the War Department, a summary of the results of this agency may be expected by you; and therefore this report is transmitted.

Your instructions of Feb. 19 entrusted to me the general superintendence and direction of such persons as might be employed upon the abandoned plantations, with a view to prevent the deterioration of the estates, to secure their best possible cultivation, and the greatest practicable benefits to the labourers upon them. The Department, not being provided with proper powers to employ upon salaries superintendents and teachers, under the plan submitted in my report of Feb. 3, enjoined co-operation with associations of judicious and humane citizens in Boston, New York, and other cities, who proposed to commission and employ persons for the religious instruction, ordinary education, and general employment of the labouring population. Authority was given to the special agent at the same time to select and appoint applicants for such purposes, and assign each to his respective duty—such persons, when compensated, to draw their compensation from private sources, receiving transportation, subsistence, and quarters only from the Government. The Educational Commission of Boston had already been organized, and the organization of the National Freedman's Relief Association of New York followed a few days later. Still later the Port Royal Relief Committee of Philadelphia was appointed.

On the morning of March 9, forty-one men and twelve women, accepted for the above purposes, and approved by the first two of the above Associations, disembarked at Beaufort, having left New York on the third of that month, on board the United-States transport the steamship *Atlantic*, accompanied by the special agent. The Educational Commission of Boston had commissioned twenty-five of the men and four of the women. The National Freedman's Relief Association of New York had commissioned sixteen of the men and five of the women, and three women from Washington City had received your own personal commendation. The men were of various occupations, farmers, mechanics, tradesmen, teachers, physicians, clergymen, ranging in age from twenty-one to sixty years. Not being provided with full topographical knowledge of the islands, it was necessary for the special agent to explore them for locations. At the close of the first fortnight after their arrival, the entire original delegation had been assigned to districts which they had reached. Since then, others have arrived, viz. fourteen on March 23, fourteen on April 14, and a few at a later date, making in all seventy-four men and nineteen women, who have been commissioned by the Associations, and receiving the permit of the Collector of New York, have arrived here, and been assigned to posts. Of the seventy-four men, forty-six were commissioned and employed by the Boston Society, and twenty-eight by that of New York. Of the nineteen women, nine were commissioned by the New York Society, six by that of Boston, one by that of Philadelphia, and three others not so commissioned, but approved by yourself, were accepted. Except in the case of the three women approved by yourself, no persons have been received into this service not previously approved by the Associations with whom you

enjoined co-operation. Of the seventy-four men, twenty-four were stationed on Port-Royal Island, a few of these doing special duty at Beaufort, fifteen on St. Helena, thirteen on Ladies', nine on Edisto, seven on Hilton Head, three on Pinckney, one on Cat and Cane, one on Paris, and one on Dawfuskie. A few of the above returned North soon after their arrival, so that the permanent number here at any one time, duly commissioned and in actual service, has not exceeded seventy men and sixteen women. The number at present is sixty-two men and thirteen women. A larger corps of superintendents and teachers might have been employed to advantage, but as injurious results would attend the overdoing of the work of supervisors, it was thought best not to receive more, until experience had indicated the permanent need.

The following is a list of the islands, with the number of plantations and people upon them which have been superintended by the above persons:—

Islands.	No. of Plantations.	Population.
Port Royal	56	1909
St. Helena (including Dathan and Morgan)	53	2721
Ladies' (including Wassa)	—	—
Coosaw, Cat, and Cane	31	1259
Hilton Head	15	943
Pinckney	2	423
Dawfuskie	3	69
Paris	5	274
Edisto	21	1278
Hutchinson, Beef, and Ashe	3	174
Total	189	9050

The above population is classified as follows: 309 mechanics and house servants not working in the field; 693 old, sickly, and unable to work; 3619 children not useful for field labour; and 4429 field hands. The field hands have been classified, as under the former system, into full, three-quarters, one-half, and one-quarter hands. The term one-quarter generally designates boys and girls of about twelve years, just sent to the field; the term half applies often to persons somewhat infirm, and to women *eniente*, and the term three-quarters applies to those doing less than a full hand and more than a half hand. According to this classification, which will aid in arriving at the effective force, the field hands are made up of 3202 full hands, 295 three-quarter hands, 597 half hands, and 335 one-quarter hands. Commuting the fractional into full hands, according to the custom of the former planter, in determining what crop should be required of the labourers, there results the equivalent of 3805½ full field hands; 4030 field hands were paid for work on the cotton crop. There is, then, a difference of 399 between this number and the entire number of field hands. The number making this difference do not appear to have worked on the cotton. Eighty-seven of them are found on Hutchinson, Beef, and Ashe, where they were sent from Otter Island, when it was so late as to make it unadvisable to attempt the planting of cotton. The statistics of population and classified labourers were taken some weeks before the pay-rolls were made, and a

number of labourers sought employment at the camp in the intervening time. Some of the one-quarter hands were not employed in the cotton culture.

The mechanics and house-servants on the plantations have not been profitably employed—the former, because they had not proper stock and tools, and we were not authorized to attempt improvements of any permanent or valuable character; the latter, because the superintendents were not accompanied by their families. Both classes were averse to field-labour, and occasioned considerable trouble. Some were assigned to the charge of gardens, and others went to the camps. The proportion of old, sickly, and disabled is large. The fugitive masters, who forced away many of their other slaves, were willing to leave these. The amount of disability among the people is generally quite large, due to moral and physical causes. There appears to be a want of vital energy in them such as often carries a feeble person safely through great toil and vexation. This may be ascribed partially to their vegetable diet, and partially to their former condition, which has nothing in it to give strength to will or purpose. Their bedding and sleeping apartments are unsuitable, and at night they sleep on the floor without change of clothing. As boatmen, they are often exposed, and do not properly care for themselves after exposure. During this season, small-pox has been prevalent, and deranged the labour on several plantations. For the purpose of staying it, there was a general vaccination, and a hospital was established on Port Royal Island, and put under the care of a physician employed by one of the Benevolent Associations. Six physicians have been employed and paid by them. It was an entirely inadequate corps for so extensive a territory, particularly as it was impossible to procure for them reasonable means of conveyance.

Since the above statistics were prepared, some 200 fugitives have come to Port Royal and Edisto, and have been distributed on the plantations. Besides, the table does not include negroes at any of the camps at Beaufort, Hilton Head, Bay Point, and Otter Island, who are under the control of the Quartermaster Department. These will amount, with their families, to 2000 persons, or more. They have not been under the Treasury Department, but they have been instructed by the teachers, and attended by the physicians, and they have shared in the distribution of clothing contributed by the Associations. The able-bodied men have been employed on wages, very much relieving the soldiers of fatigue duty.

Some of the smaller of the above islands have only been visited by the superintendents, who are stationed on other islands—the visits being made two or three times a week.

Five of the women authorized as above have resided at the junction of Ladies' and St. Helena Islands. The rest have resided on Port Royal, most of those at Port Royal living at Beaufort. Their labours have been directed, some to teaching daily schools, and others to the distribution of clothing, to the visitation of the sick among these people, and to endeavours for the improvement of their household life. They have been

welcomed on plantations where no white woman had been since our military occupation began. A circle at once formed around them, the coloured women usually testifying their gladness by offering presents of two or three eggs. Their genial presence, wherever they have gone, has comforted and encouraged these people, and without the co-operation of refined and Christian women the best part of this work of civilization must ever remain undone,

The superintendents have generally had five or six plantations in charge, sometimes one, aided by a teacher, having under him three, four, and even five hundred persons. The duty of each has been to visit all the plantations under him as often as practicable, some of which are one, two, three, and even four miles from his quarters—transport to them implements from the store-houses, protect the cattle and other public property upon them, converse with the labourers, explaining to them their own new condition, the purposes of the Government toward them, what is expected of them in the way of labour, and what remunerations they are likely to receive; procure and distribute among them clothing and food, whether issued in army rations or contributed by the Benevolent Associations; collecting the materials of a census; making reports of the condition and wants of the plantations, and any peculiar difficulties, to the special agent; drawing pay-rolls for labour on cotton, and paying the amounts; going when convenient to the praise meetings, and reading the Scriptures; instructing on Sundays and other days those desirous to learn to read, as much as time permitted; attending to cases of discipline, protecting the negroes from injuries, and in all possible ways endeavouring to elevate them, and prepare them to become worthy and self-supporting citizens. Such were some of the labours cast upon the superintendents, for which, as they were without precedent in our history, none could have had special experience, and for which, in many cases of difficulty, they were obliged to act without any precise instructions from the special agent, as he had received none such from the Government. In a very few instances, there appeared a want of fitness for the art of governing men under such strange circumstances, but in none a want of just purpose. Many toiled beyond their strength, and nearly all did more than they could persevere in doing. A knowledge of the culture of cotton was found not necessary in a superintendent, though it would have facilitated his labours. On this point the labourers were often better informed than their former masters. Indeed, those persons who might already have possessed this knowledge, and applied for the post of superintendent, would have been likely in gaining it to have acquired ideas of the negroes as slaves, and of the mode of dealing with them as such, prejudicial to their success in this enterprise. The duty to be performed has consisted so much in explaining to the labourers their new conditions and their relations to the Government, and in applying the best spiritual forces to their minds and hearts, that just purposes, and good sense, and faith in the work, have been of far more consequence than any mere experience in agri-

culture; and, even in the more practical matters, those who had the most inspiration for the service were found the most fertile in resources, and the most cheerful and patient in encountering vexations and inconveniences. It would not be easy again to combine in a body of men so much worth and capacity, and it is but a deserved tribute to say that but for their unusual zeal and devotion under many adverse influences, added to the intrinsic difficulty of the work itself, this enterprise, on which patriotism and humanity had rested their faith, would have failed of the complete success which has hitherto attended it.

It is proper to add, that an accomplished woman accepted the superintendence of a single plantation, in addition to other duties for which she specially came, and carried it on successfully.

Upon the arrival of the superintendents, the plantations were generally unsupplied with tools, even hoes—those on hand being the tools used last year, and a few found in the shops at Beaufort. Some 3000 dols. worth of ploughs, hoes, and other implements and seeds were intended to come with the superintendents. The negroes had commenced putting corn and potatoes into their own patches, and in some cases had begun to prepare a field of corn for the plantation. No land had been prepared for cotton, and the negroes were strongly indisposed to its culture. They were willing to raise corn, because it was necessary for food, but they saw no such necessity for cotton, and distrusted promises of payment for cultivating it. It had enriched masters, but had not fed them. Soldiers passing over the plantations had told them in careless speech that they were not to plant cotton. As this was a social experiment, in which immediate industrial results were expected, it seemed important that all former modes of culture should be kept up, and those products not neglected for which the district is best adapted, and which, in time of peace, should come from it. Besides, when a people are passing through the most radical of all changes, prudence requires that all old habits and modes of labour not inconsistent with the new condition should be conserved. Particularly did it seem desirable that the enemies of free labour in either hemisphere should not be permitted to say exultingly, upon the view of a single season's experiment here, that a product so important to trade and human comfort could not be cultivated without the forced, unintelligent, and unpaid labour of slaves. Therefore, no inconsiderable effort was made to disabuse the labourers of their pretty strong prejudice on this point, and to convince them that labour on cotton was honourable, remunerative, and necessary to enable them to buy clothing and the fitting comforts they desired. It was not made in vain; and its necessity would in the main have been dispensed with, if we had had in the beginning the money to pay for the labour required, and the proper clothing and food to meet the just wants and expectations of the labourers. At the same time, the importance of raising an adequate supply of provisions was enjoined, and with entire success. On this point there was no trouble. The amount of these planted is equal to that of last year, in proportion to the people to be supplied, and probably exceeds it. The

negro patches are far larger than ever before, and as these had been begun before we arrived, we were unable to make them equal on the different plantations. They alone, in a fair season, and if harvested in peace, would probably prevent any famine. On the whole, it is quite certain that without the system here put in operation the mass of the labourers, if left to themselves and properly protected from depredations and demoralization by white men, would have raised on their negro patches corn and potatoes sufficient for their food, though without the incentives and moral inspirations thereby applied, they would have raised no cotton, and had no exportable crop, and there might, under the uncertainties of the present condition of things, have been a failure of a surplus of corn necessary for cattle and contingencies, and for the purchase of needed comforts. There is no disposition to claim for the movement here first initiated that it is the only one by which the people of this race can be raised from the old to the new condition, provided equal opportunities and an equal period for development are accorded to them as to communities of the white race. But it seems to have been the only one practicable where immediate material and moral results were to be reached, and upon a territory under military occupation.

The preparation of the ground for planting begins usually about Feb. 1. It was not until March 24 that the superintendence of the plantations under the present system can be said to have been in operation—the first fortnight being occupied by the superintendents, upon their stations being assigned, in going to them with a moderate supply of implements. The planting, except of the slip potatoes, which are planted in July, some cow-peas, and a small quantity of corn, closed in the week ending with May 10. Each superintendent, in response to a call from the special agent, has furnished a written statement of the acres of cotton, corn, potatoes, and vegetables then planted on each plantation in his district, with an estimate of the amount thereafter to be planted, the figures of which have been arranged in a tabular form, presenting the amount of each kind on all the plantations on all the islands where agricultural operations are being carried on under the protection of our forces. It is with pleasure that the aggregate result is here submitted. It makes (adding the negro patches to the corn-fields of the plantations) 8315 12-100 acres of provisions (corn, potatoes, etc.) planted, 5480 11-100 acres of cotton planted—in all, 13,795 23-100 acres of provisions and cotton planted. Adding to these the 2394 acres of late corn, to a great extent for fodder, cow-peas, etc., to be planted, and the crop of this year presents a total of 16,189 23.100 acres. The crops are growing, and are in good condition. They have been cultivated with the plow and hoe, and the stalks of cotton have been thinned, as is usual at this stage of their growth. They are six or eight, and in some fields twelve inches high. Next month will close the work of cultivation. Notwithstanding the recent withdrawal of six hundred able-bodied men from the plantations for military purposes—a very large proportion of the working force—

the spirit of the labourers has so improved, that, according to present expectations, only a small proportion of the above acres already planted will have to be abandoned. The effect of the order will, however, be to diminish the number of acres to be planted, as the estimate was made just before it was issued.

The statistical table presenting the aggregate result on each island is here introduced. The full tabular statement, giving the amount of each crop planted on each of the 189 plantations, also accompanies this report.

ISLANDS.	No. acres of Corn planted.	No. acres of Potatoes (root) planted.	No. acres of Cotton planted.	No. acres of miscellaneous Vegetables, Cow Peas, Rice, etc., planted.	No. acres of Provisions planted as by Labourers on their own account.	Total No. of acres planted.	No. Acres of Potatoes (slip), Cow Peas, etc., to be planted.
Port Royal.	1646½	176	1257	81	362½	3523½	540½
Ladies' (including Coosaw, Wassa, Cat, and Cane).	941	112½	1042	41	375½	2512½	432½
Hilton Head.	381½	49½	659	13	211	1314	No return.
St. Helena (including Dathaw and Morgan).	1365	238	1554	74½	702½	3375	834½
Paris.	164	30½	221	6	157	578½	60
Pinckney and Dawfuskie.	59	No return.	47	1½	135	243	No return.
Edisto.	835½	122	697	No return.	84	1738½	286
Hutchinson, Beef, and Ashe.	—	6	—	2½	—	8½	240
Total	5332½	735½	5480	219½	2027½	13,795	2394

Satisfactory as the result is, the crop would have been considerably larger but for several unfavourable circumstances.

In the first place, the labourers had just passed through four months of idleness and confusion, during which the only labour done by the great mass of them was upon the baling and transportation of the cotton. During this time they had had no assurances as to their future, no regular employment, no care of their moral interests, no enlightenment as to their relations to this war, except the careless and conflicting talk of soldiers who chanced to visit these plantations, and whose conduct toward them did not always prepossess them in favour of the ideas of Northern men as to the rights of property or the honour of women. The effects of this injurious season had to be met at the threshold, and, as far as could be, removed.

The usual season for preparing for a crop had already advanced six weeks before the superintendence and the distribution of implements commenced. Besides the labour thus lost, there was no time to devise useful plans for abridging it, and so conducting it as to be able to ascertain definitely what each had done, and to how much each was entitled. The working of all the hands together is not the best mode for this purpose, but we had no time to change the course pursued the year before. In the future, it will probably be found that when there is time to arrange accordingly, the best mode will be to assign a piece of land to each labourer, and thus the amount done and the proportionate compensation due, can be more justly fixed. Nothing is found to discourage faithful labourers so much as to see the indolent fare as well as themselves. Even now, since the close of planting, some of the superintendents, impressed with this difficulty, have allotted pieces of ground in that way, and they report that this plan works well. It will, besides, introduce ideas of independent proprietorship on the part of the labourers, not so likely to come from what is called the "gang" system. The same cause—viz. the lateness of the season, together with the insufficient means of fencing—required the selection of such fields for cultivation as could be best protected from cattle, and not such as could be most easily and productively worked.

There was an inadequate supply of implements when the work commenced. A small quantity, less than that required, was purchased, and was to have been sent with the superintendents; but, by some accident, the larger part of the hoes and some other articles were left behind, and did not come till some weeks later.

The plantations were bereft of mules and horses necessary for ploughing and carting manure. The former owners had taken away the best in many cases, and nearly all the workable mules and horses remaining had been seized by our army for quartermaster and commissary service. On a long list of plantations not a mule was left to plough. Others had one only, and that one blind or lame. On none was there the former number. The oxen had been, to a great extent, slaughtered for beef. The labourers had become vexed and dispirited at this stripping of the plantations, and they had no heart to attempt the working of them productively. In-

deed, in some cases, it did seem like requiring them to make bricks without straw. At last, in answer to a pressing appeal to the Treasury Department by the special agent, ninety mules were forwarded from New York—forty arriving at Beaufort on the 18th April, and fifty on the 21st. Within three days after their arrival, they were distributed, except some dozen intended for localities not so accessible. This was a most necessary consignment. It made the hand-labour available, and showed the labourers that the Government was in earnest in carrying on the plantations. The recognition of their complaints of the want of them helped to give confidence. This re-inforcement of the implements of labour must have added not far from 2000 acres to the crop of this year, and perhaps even more.

Another difficulty was found in the destitution of corn prevalent in many districts, as Port Royal, Hilton Head, and Paris Islands. In some localities, it had been burned by the rebels. It had been taken in large quantities by our army for forage, under orders of Gen. Sherman, and the result indicated as soon at hand in the report of the special agent of Feb. 3, had already arrived. The first week after the return of the special agent here was passed in exploring localities for superintendents in Port Royal. Everywhere he was met with complaints that there was no corn or provisions. A few rations had been doled out, but only on a few plantations, and without system or regularity. It took some two or three weeks there, and longer on other islands, to get a system in operation under which the negroes, where the corn had been taken, or there was destitution, should receive a part of a soldier's ration. From Ladies' Island the corn had been taken largely, and it was thought it might be supplied by a possible surplus on St. Helena. On these islands there was considerable discontent on account of the exclusive diet of hominy, and a great call for meat, molasses, and salt. On some of the best conducted plantations these articles had formerly been furnished by the planters, in small quantities, at some seasons. So many cattle had been taken by the army for beef, that, following his instructions, which required him to prevent the deterioration of the estates, the special agent hesitated to continue the slaughter. Salt was twice furnished to these two islands by a special purchase—a quart being given to a family. At length a consignment of 2000 dols. worth of provisions, for which an appeal had been made early in March, consisting of bacon, fish, molasses, and salt, arrived, being delayed by many accidents, and forwarded by the Port-Royal Relief Committee of Philadelphia. Bacon and fish, to the amount of three pounds of the former and one pound of the latter to a grown person, were distributed May 15, and a distribution of molasses has since been made of one quart to a family. The labourers have been greatly encouraged by this distribution; and if it could have been made earlier, or rations could have been issued earlier, the crop would have been increased, and we should have been relieved of many grievous complaints, the justice of which we were compelled to confess, without the power to remove them.

Again, the labourers had but very little confidence in the promises of payment made by us on behalf of the Government. The one per cent. a pound which had been promised on the last year's crop of cotton, mostly stored when our military occupation began, and for the baling and local transportation of which the labourers had been employed in November and December last, had not been paid. This sum, even if paid, was entirely inadequate to supply the needed clothing and other wants, and it would seem that the labourers were fairly entitled, upon the taking of the cotton which they had raised, to have been paid for the labour expended by them in raising it, or if they were to be paid only for the labour of baling and transporting, that they should have been provided with the winter clothing which their masters had not furnished before they left. The destitution of clothing was such as to produce much discontent, subsequently relieved to a considerable extent by the Benevolent Associations. The special agent was not provided with funds to pay for labour on this year's crop until April 23. Then the moderate sum of one dol. per acre was paid for cotton planted by April 23, being distributed among the labourers according to the amount done by each. This was paid on account, the question of the value of the labour already done being reserved. This payment quickened the labourers very much, and the work went rapidly forward until May 10, when the time for closing the regular planting season arrived. Indeed, from the beginning, where they could clearly see that they were to receive the rewards of their labour, they worked with commendable diligence. Thus they worked diligently on their negro patches at the time when we had the most difficulty in securing the full amount of proper work on the plantations. Not the least among our troubles was, that many able-bodied men had gone to the camps at Beaufort, Hilton Head, and Bay Point, where they were profitably employed on wages, occasionally returning to the plantations, where their wives remained, to display their earnings and produce discontent among the unpaid labourers on them. No money has been paid for the planting of corn, or of vegetables, except in the case of a large garden of ten acres, it being expected that these products will be consumed on the plantations. A second payment for the cotton planted since April 23, and at the same rate as the first, has been made. In all, the sum of 5479 dols. 65 cents, has been paid for 5480 11.100 acres of cotton, with 10 dols. more for the garden of vegetables. Four thousand and thirty persons received their proportions of this sum. Small as the payment was, the labourers received it with great satisfaction, as, if nothing more, it was at least a recognition of their title to wages, and to treatment as freemen. Accurate pay-rolls for each plantation, with the name of each labourer and the amount paid, and certified by the superintendents, are preserved.

These drawbacks are not stated with any intention to cast blame on the Government, already overcharged with transcendent duties; but it seemed fitting to mention them, in order to do full justice to labourers who are passing from one condition to another.

The order of Major-Gen. Hunter, compelling the able-bodied men to go to Hilton Head on May 12, where a proportion of them still remain against their will, produced apprehension among these people as to our intentions in relation to them, and disturbed the work on the plantations, the force of which has been greatly reduced, leaving the women, and children over twelve years of age, as the main reliance on many plantations. The special agent entered a protest against the order and its harsh execution, and the retention of any not disposed to enlist; but the civil being subordinate to military power, no further action could be taken.

The cases of discipline for idleness have been very few, and cannot have exceeded, if they have equalled, forty on the islands. These have been reported to the military authorities and been acted upon by them. The most trouble has been upon plantations lying exposed to the camps and vessels both of the navy and sutlers, as on Hilton Head Island and on St. Helena, near Bay Point, where there was considerable discontent and insubordination induced by the visits from the vessels and camps. This trouble, it is hoped, will hereafter be removed by a more effective police system than has yet been applied.

(To be continued.)

WILLIAM CRAFT'S MISSION TO DAHOMEY.

THE friends to Africa who so kindly came forward to support the mission to the King of Dahomey, undertaken for the purpose of inducing that native chief to abandon the sanguinary customs of his pagan country, by which thousands of human beings were sacrificed in honour to, and for the supposed benefit of, a deceased king, and of placing before that powerful chief the superior advantages of peaceful and legitimate commerce over the atrocious slave-trade with its concomitant barbarities, will doubtless be pleased to learn that William Craft left England by the West-African mail packet of last month, in company with the late President of Liberia, J. J. Roberts, intending to become a little acclimated in Liberia before entering on the labours of his mission, and hoping also to obtain some support for his object in that African republic. Although only between four and five hundred pounds were contributed towards the thousand pounds which William Craft had calculated would be required to meet his expenses, it was judged expedient not longer to delay his departure, lest the favourable season should be lost. Recent intelligence from Dahomey has reached this country which greatly encourages the hopes entertained of W. Craft's success, and renders it highly probable that he will find the king's mind already favourably disposed to receive advances from England, and listen to proposals coming from hence. Notwithstanding the

Committee concluded to start W. Craft, it would remind his friends that it will be needful to raise additional funds, both to cover expenses already incurred, and to remit a further sum to Africa for his expenses.

TRIAL IN FRANCE FOR SLAVE-DEALING.

THE Court of Assizes of the Seine-Inférieure was engaged for three days during the last week in November in trying twenty persons on a charge of illegally engaging in the slave-trade, but only eleven of the accused were present. They were, Lemore, a merchant and shipowner; Castel, captain of a merchant vessel, and nine sailors. Among the accused who have absconded were Kraft, an American; Francisco Aguilar, a Spaniard; Pignon-Blanc, a mate; and seven sailors. It appears from the indictment, that in July 1860 Lemore purchased a Spanish vessel named the *Etelvina*, which had run ashore near Havre, and been sold as a wreck. It was got afloat, repaired, and fitted out at Fécamp by Lemore and Kraft, ostensibly for a voyage to the coast of Africa for the palm-oil trade. However, from the fittings of the *Etelvina*, and the immense quantity of water and biscuits put on board, there could be no doubt that the vessel was really intended for the slave-trade, but she got off from Fécamp before the authorities were aware of the fact. Castel went as captain, and Pignon-Blanc as first mate. Aguilar was supercargo. The *Etelvina* called at Teneriffe, and took on board more water and a quantity of planks. Two months later she anchored at a Portuguese factory on the slave coast, and the crew were then informed by Pignon-Blanc that the vessel had been sold to Aguilar, and offered them 2500*fr.* each if they would go with him to Havana, to which they consented. At the same time Castel left the vessel, and Pignon-Blanc took the command. Not fewer than 775 negroes were then promptly embarked, and after a passage of forty-five days landed on an island near Cuba. Pignon-Blanc then took the vessel into the offing, scuttled, and sank her. Of the guilt of Kraft and Pignon-Blanc there could be no doubt, but the evidence failed to establish a guilty knowledge on the part of Lemore and Castel; and as to the sailors, when once on the coast of Africa, they had no alternative but to remain there or accept the offer made to them. After hearing a great number of witnesses and counsel for all the prisoners present, the jury retired, and remained absent about an hour, when they returned into court with a verdict of not guilty in favour of all the prisoners, who were accordingly set at liberty.—*Morning Star*, Dec. 3, 1862.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 1, 1863.

EDITORIAL.

THE exceeding pressure upon our space this month, obliges us to defer our editorials upon passing events. The President's Message, however, requires a passing allusion. We believe it contains nothing contradictory of the Proclamation of the 22d of September, and we hold ourselves bound to demonstrate that it is not retrograde in its policy.

THE RECENT RIOTS AT ST. VINCENT.

WE append a correspondence from St. Vincent, which has reached us on the subject of the late riots in that island, the origin of which seems to have been an illegal interference with the rights of some of the labouring people by their employers.

"As no doubt you have heard of the riot which lately occurred in the Island of St. Vincent, I take the opportunity of putting you in possession of the leading facts connected therewith.

"It appears, that in September last, certain employers in the Windward district, determined on reducing the wages of the native labourers to 6d. per diem, while the coolies were to be continued at 8d. To this the labourers objected, and refused to work unless they were to be paid during the current month, according to law, at the usual rate.

"The planters then threatened them with the usual alternative, and, the labourers continuing obstinate, the inspector and his body of police from Kingston were soon in sight. On their approach the negro feature to imitate was developed, and similar scenes were enacted which had characterized the sailors of one of Her Majesty's ships on a former occasion, and which were subsequently repeated, even by some gentlemen of standing in the community, in demolishing respectively the premises of editors, and entirely destroying their printing-presses.

"It was only through the interposition of an influential Wesleyan Missionary that the people could be appeased, seeing they were nearly as much exasperated as the sailors and gentlemen on the occasion referred to, when the law was completely defied, and the liberty of the subject seriously invaded. So much for the force of example. I must observe that the reign of oppression which exists in small colonial communities is unknown to British philanthropy.

"Several of these labourers, upon entering Kingston a few days after the sad occurrences,

were shot, because they had with them their cutlasses, which it is common for them to carry when at their work.

"On this occasion they had given no signs of insubordination to justify in the least way a sacrifice of twenty lives. The opportunity, however, was thought by the murderers as then presenting the gratifying and long desire to shed negro blood; not to speak of the use of the lash in the so-called good old days, and which is still considered a smart thing for a negro.

"I think great blame is attributable to the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Musgrave, for sending the police in the first instance, which is another proof, of the many, of his incompetency to govern.

"I might state that the West-Indian Islands are not regulated quite on the free system, and the state of the local Governments calls for special inquiry."

From another Correspondent—

"I break through the reserve I have had to preserve in these troublous times. You have heard of the riots from other sources, although the whole truth, I fear, has not yet been told. We have them characterized in Acts of the Legislature and other state documents, as seditious riots, an insurrection, and heaven knows what. It appears to be now admitted by the Attorney-General, that the *emeute* at Mount Bentinck commenced in resistance by the peasantry to the execution of an illegal warrant. So that, though morally wrong, they were legally right at the onset, if the dictum of the Attorney-General's brother and former partner in business is correct, who used invariably to counsel his clients to similar resistance.

"As to the affair in the Biabon quarter, which occasioned the proclamation of martial law on the 30th of September, it is a most remarkable fact, that up to the time of the reading of that famous document by Mr. Henry H. Breem in the Ordinance yard, not a single magistrate, not a member of the Commission of the Peace, not a proprietor, nor a constable, or any other peace officer was assaulted, or even personally molested by the rioters. For however estimable the gentlemen may be who were struck or otherwise maltreated, none held the authority of the Queen. They were but the fellow-servants of the rioters on the plantations on which they resided. I am at a loss to conceive how the Executive could assert in a proclamation that the civil power was utterly unable to put down the riots before it was attempted. The police magistrate (probably in anticipation of such emergencies) is by law bound to reside in his district; but was he there on the 30th of September; nay, verily, but, along with his brother police magistrate from the Leeward district, was in Kingstown waiting for the formation of a quorum of the assembly. Party tactics claim prior attention to public duty. The authorities do admit of four persons

having been put to military execution. But in the official reports there is not one word about the unmerciful flogging of males and females without the shadow of a trial, and in some instances in utter wantonness.

"The sort of justice that is to be meted out to the rioters may be anticipated on reference to the trial of Cesar Clark. The prisoner was undefended, but instead of explaining to him his right of challenge, the Judge selected the jury before he was brought up from jail, and dismissed the other jurors from the Court for half an hour. He has been found guilty, and received an unmerciful sentence for a street brawl, considering his previous good conduct."

The same correspondent, writing to us from the island, under date the 24th of November, says:

"I send to your address copies of two Acts passed here on the 22nd of October—'The Riots Expenses Act, 1862,' and 'The Riots Indemnity Act, 1862.' Under the latter it is proposed to screen all the villainy that has been practised during the license of martial law. I also enclose 'a supplement to the Guardian and Official Gazette' of date November 18, 1862. You will there see the state of liberty: the faction who govern here wish to tie down all who differ from them. There is a sham investigation going on to windward before two police magistrates, respecting the origin and causes of the late outbreak, but it will come to nothing: the whole officials are utterly corrupt, and things here will never be better until there is a clean sweep of them. The number of those in custody, charged with complicity in the riots, is 152. The court for their trial is to be held on the 25th."

We have examined the Acts referred to by our correspondents, and they certainly fully justify his strictures.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

WE subjoin, from the President's message, delivered on the 4th ult., such extracts as relate to the negro question and emancipation.

"THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.—THE TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

"The treaty with Great Britain for the suppression of the African slave-trade has been put into operation with a good prospect of complete success. It is an occasion of special pleasure to acknowledge that the execution of it on the part of Her Majesty's Government has been marked with a jealous respect for the authority of the United States and the rights of their moral and loyal citizens.

"EMIGRATION OF THE NEGROES.

"Applications have been made to me by many free Americans of African descent to favour their emigration, with a view to such colonization as was contemplated in recent Acts of Congress. Other parties, at home and abroad—some from interested motives, others upon patriotic consi-

derations, and still others influenced by philanthropic sentiments, have suggested similar measures; while, on the other hand, several of the Spanish-American Republics have protested against the sending of such colonists to their respective territories. Under these circumstances I have declined to move any such colony to any State without first obtaining the consent of its Government, with an agreement on its part to receive and protect such emigrants in all their rights of free men, and I have at the same time offered to the several States situated in the tropics, or having colonies there, to negotiate with them, subject to the advice and consent of the Senate, to favour the voluntary emigration of persons of that class to their respective territories, upon conditions which shall be equal, just, and humane. Liberia and Hayti are, as yet, the only countries to which colonists of African descent from here could go with certainty of being received and adopted as citizens; and I regret to say that such persons contemplating colonization do not seem so willing to emigrate to those countries as to some others, nor willing as I think their interest demands. I believe, however, the opinion among them in this respect is improving, and that ere long there will be an augmented and considerable emigration to both those countries from the United States.

"COMMERCIAL TREATIES WITH TURKEY, LIBERIA, AND HAYTI.

"The new commercial treaty between the United States and the Sultan of Turkey has been carried into execution.

"A commercial and consular treaty has been negotiated, subject to the Senate's consent, with Liberia, and a similar negotiation is now pending with the Republic of Hayti. A considerable improvement of the national commerce is expected to result from these measures.

"THE UNITED-STATES' TERRITORIES AS YET UNDISTURBED BY THE CIVIL WAR—THEIR VALUE.

"The Territories of the United States, with unimportant exceptions, have remained undisturbed by the civil war, and they are exhibiting such evidence of prosperity as justifies an expectation that some of them will soon be in a condition to be organized as States, and be constitutionally admitted into the Federal Union. The immense mineral resources of some of these Territories ought to be developed as rapidly as possible. Every step in that direction would have a tendency to improve the revenues of the Government and diminish the burdens of the people. It is worthy of your serious consideration whether some extraordinary measures to promote that end cannot be adopted. The means which suggests itself as most likely to be effective is a scientific exploration of the mineral regions in these Territories, with a view to the publication of its results at home and in foreign countries—results which cannot fail to be auspicious.

"INDIAN AFFAIRS—THE INDIANS AND THE REBELS.

"The Indian tribes upon our frontiers have, during the past year, manifested a spirit of insubordination, and at several points have engaged in open hostilities against the white set-

tlements in their vicinity. The tribes occupying the Indian country south of Kansas renounced their allegiance to the United States, and entered into treaties with the insurgents. Those who remained loyal to the United States were driven from the country. The chief of the Cherokees has visited this city for the purpose of restoring the former relations of the tribe with the United States. He alleges that they were constrained by superior force to enter into treaties with the insurgents, and that the United States neglected to furnish the protection which their treaty stipulations required.

"THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

"On the 22d day of September last a proclamation was issued by the Executive, a copy of which is herewith subscribed. In accordance with the purpose expressed in the second paragraph of that paper, I now respectfully recal your attention to what may be called 'Compensated Emancipation.'

"WHAT CONSTITUTES A NATION.

"A nation may be said to consist of its territory, its people, its laws. The territory is the only part which is of certain durability. One generation passeth away and another generation cometh; but the earth abideth for ever. It is of the first importance to duty to consider and estimate this ever-enduring part. That portion of the earth's surface which is owned and inhabited by the people of the United States is well adapted to be the home of one national family, and it is not well adapted for two or more. Its vast extent and its variety of climate and productions are of advantage in this age for one people, whatever they might have been in former ages. Steam and telegraphs, in intelligence, have brought these to be an advantageous combination for one united people. In the inaugural address I briefly pointed out the total inadequacy of disunion as a remedy for the differences between the people of the two sections. I did so in language which I cannot improve, and which, therefore, I beg to repeat:

"One section of our country believes Slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive slave clause of the constitution and the law for the suppression of the African slave-trade are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave-trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other. Physically speaking, we cannot separate—we cannot remove our respective sections from each other, or build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country

cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.'

WHY THE UNITED STATES MUST NOT BE DIVIDED.

"There is no line, straight or crooked, suitable for a national boundary upon which to divide. Trace through from east to west upon the line between the free and slave country, and we shall find a little more than one-third of its length in rivers, easy to be crossed and populated, or soon to be populated thickly upon both sides, while nearly all its remaining length is merely surveyors' lines, over which people may walk back and forth without any consciousness of their presence. No part of this line can be made any more difficult to pass by writing it down on paper or parchment as a national boundary. The fact of separation, if it comes, gives up, on the part of the seceding section, the fugitive slave clause, along with all other constitutional obligations upon the section seceded from, while I should expect no treaty stipulation would ever be made to take its place. But there is another difficulty. The great interior region—bounded east by the Alleghanies, north by the British dominions, west by the Rocky Mountains, and south by the line along which the culture of corn and cotton meets, and which includes part of Virginia, part of Tennessee, all of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, and the Territories of Dacotah, Nebraska, and part of Colorado—has above ten millions of people, and will have fifty millions within fifty years, if not prevented by any political folly or mistake. It contains more than one-third of the country owned by the revolted States, certainly more than one million of square miles. Once half as populous as Massachusetts already is, it would have more than seventy-five millions of people. A glance at the map shews that, territorially speaking, it is the great body of the Republic. The other parts are but marginal borders to it, the magnificent region sloping west from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific being the deepest and also the richest in undeveloped resources in the production of provisions, grains, grasses, and all which proceed from them. This great interior region is naturally one of the most important in the world. Ascertain from the statistics the small proportion of the region which has as yet been brought into cultivation, and also the large and rapidly-increasing amount of its products, and we shall be overwhelmed with the magnitude of the prospect presented; and yet this region has no seacoast, touches no ocean anywhere. As part of one nation, its people now find, and may for ever find, their way to Europe by New York, to South America and Africa by New Orleans, and to Asia by San Francisco. But separate

our common country into two nations, as designed by the present rebellion, and every man of this great interior region is thereby cut off from some one or more of these outlets, not, perhaps, by a physical barrier, but by embarrassing and onerous trade regulations. And this is true wherever a dividing or boundary line may be fixed. Place it between the now free and slave country, or place it south of Kentucky or north of Ohio, and still the truth remains that none south of it can trade to any port or place north of it, and none north of it can trade to any part or place south of it, except upon terms dictated by a Government foreign to them. These outlets, east, west, and south, are indispensable to the well-being of the people inhabiting and to inhabit this vast interior region. Which of the three may be the best is no proper question. All are better than either, and all of right belong to that people and to their successors for ever. True to themselves, they will not ask where a line of separation shall be, but will vow rather that there shall be no such line. Nor are the marginal regions less interested in these communications to and through them to the great outside world. They, too, and each of them, must have access to this Egypt of the West, without paying toll at the crossing of any national boundary. Our national strife springs not from one permanent part, not from the land we inhabit, not from our national homestead. There is no possible severing of this but would multiply, and not mitigate, evils among us. In all its adaptations and aptitudes it demands union and abhors separation. In fact, it would ere long force reunion, however much of blood and treasure the separation might have cost. Our strife pertains to ourselves, to the passing generations of men, and it cannot, without convulsion, be hushed for ever with the passing of one generation.

" HOW SLAVERY CAN AND MAY BE ERADICATED FROM THE LAND.

" In this view I recommend the adoption of the following resolution and articles emendatory to the constitution of the United States :

" Resolved,—By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures or Conventions of the several States as amendments to the constitution of the United States, all or any of which articles, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures or Conventions, to be valid as part or parts of the said constitution, viz. :

" Article.—Every State wherein Slavery now exists which shall abolish the same therein at any time or times before the 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred, shall receive compensation from the United States as follows, to wit :

" The President of the United States shall deliver to every such State bonds of the United States, bearing interest at the rate of — for each slave shewn to have been therein by the eighth census of the United States, said bonds to be delivered to such State by instalments, or in one parcel, at the completion of the abolishment, accordingly as the same shall have been

gradual, or at one time, within such State ; and interest shall begin to run upon any such bond only from the proper time of its delivery as aforesaid, and afterwards any State having received bonds as aforesaid, and afterwards introducing or tolerating Slavery therein, shall refund to the United States the bonds so received, or the value thereof, and all interest paid thereon.

" Article.—All slaves who shall have enjoyed actual freedom by the chances of the war at any time before the end of the rebellion shall be for ever free ; but all owners of such who shall not have been disloyal shall be compensated for them at the same rates as are provided for States adopting abolishment of Slavery ; but in such a way that no slave shall be twice accounted for.

" Article.—Congress may appropriate money and otherwise provide for colonizing free coloured persons, with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States.'

" WHY THE FOREGOING ARTICLES SHOULD BE ADOPTED.

" I beg indulgence to discuss these proposed articles at some length. Without Slavery the rebellion would never have existed ; without Slavery it could not continue. Among the friends of the Union there is great diversity of sentiment and of policy in regard to Slavery and the African race amongst us. Some would abolish it suddenly, and without compensation ; some would abolish it gradually, and with compensation ; some would remove the freed people from us, and some would retain them with us, and there are yet other minor diversities. Because of these diversities we waste much strength in struggles among ourselves ; by mutual concession we should harmonize and act together. This would be a compromise among the friends and not with the enemies of the Union. These articles are intended to embody a plan of such mutual concessions. If the plan shall be adopted, it is assumed that emancipation will follow, at least in several of the States. As to the first article, the main points are :

" Firstly—The emancipation.

" Secondly—The length of time for consummating (thirty-seven years).

" Thirdly—The compensation.

" HOW THIS POLICY WILL BENEFIT THE SLAVE AND HIS OWNER.

" The emancipation will be unsatisfactory to the advocates of perpetual Slavery ; but the length of time would greatly mitigate their dissatisfaction. The time spares both races from the evils of sudden derangement—in fact, from the necessity of any derangement ; while most of those whose habitual course of thought will be disturbed by the measure will have passed away before its consummation. They will never see it. Another class will hail the prospect of emancipation, but will deprecate the length of time. They will feel that it gives too little to the now living slaves. But it really gives them much. It saves them from the vagrant destitution which must largely attend immediate emancipation in localities where their numbers are very great, and it gives the inspiring assurance that their posterity shall be free for ever. The

plan leaves to each State choosing to act under it to abolish Slavery now or at the end of the century, or at any intermediate time, or by degrees extending over the whole or any part of that period, and it obliges no two States to proceed alike. It also provides for compensation, and, generally, the mode of making it. This, it would seem, must further mitigate the dissatisfaction of those who favour perpetual Slavery, and especially of those who are to receive compensation. Doubtless some of those who are to pay and not to receive will object; yet that the measure is both just and economical is certain. The liberation of the slaves is the destruction of property—property acquired by descent or by purchase, the same as any other property. It is no less true for having been often said that the people of the South are no more responsible for the original introduction of this property than are the people of the North; and when it is remembered how unhesitatingly we use—all of us use—cotton and sugar, and share the profits of dealing in them, it may not be quite safe to say that the South has been more responsible than the North for its continuance. If, then, for a common object this property is to be sacrificed, is it not just that it be done at a common charge? And if, with less money, or money more easily paid, we can better preserve the benefits of the Union by this means than we can by the war alone, is it not economical to do it? Let us consider it then. Let us ascertain the sum we have expended in the war since compensated emancipation was proposed last March, and consider whether, if that measure had been promptly accepted by even some of the Slave States, the same sum would not have done more to close the war than has been otherwise done. If so, the measure would save money, and in that view would be a prudent and economical measure certainly. It is not so easy to pay something as it is to pay nothing; but it is easier to pay a large sum than it is to pay a larger one, and it is easier to pay any sum when we are able than it is to pay it before we are able. The war requires it at once. The aggregate sum necessary for compensated emancipation, of course, would be large; but it would require no ready cash for bondsmen any faster than the emancipation progresses.

**"THE PROSPECTIVE INCREASE OF THE COUNTRY
TO AID THE MEASURE.**

"This might not, and probably would not, close before the end of the thirty-seven years. At that time we shall probably have 100,000,000 of people to share the burden, instead of 31,000,000, as now; and not only so, but the increase of our population may be expected to continue for a long time after the period, as rapidly as before, because our territory will not have become full. I do not state this inconsiderately. At the same ratio of increase which we have maintained, on an average, from our first national census in 1790 until that of 1860, we should, in 1900, have a population of 103,208,415. And why may we not continue that ratio far beyond that period? Our abundant room, our broad national homestead, is our ample resource. Were our territory as limited as

are the British isles, very certainly our population could not expand as stated. Instead of receiving the foreign-born as now, we should be compelled to send part of the native-born away; but such is not our condition. We have 2,963,000 square miles. Europe has 3,800,000, with a population averaging seventy-three and one-third persons to the square mile. Why may not our country at some time average as many? Is it less fertile? Has it more waste surface by mountains, rivers, lakes, deserts, or other causes? Is it inferior to Europe in any natural advantages? If, then, we are at some time to be as populous as Europe, how soon? As to when this may be we can judge by the past and the present. As to when it will, if ever, depends much on whether we maintain the Union. Several of our States are above the average European populations of seventy-three and a third to the square mile. Massachusetts has 157; Rhode Island, 133; New York and New Jersey, each 80; and also two other great States, Pennsylvania and Ohio, are not far below, the former having 63, and the latter 59. The States already above the European average, except New York, have increased in as rapid ratio since passing that point as ever before, while no one of them is equal to some other parts of our country in national capacity for sustaining a dense population.

"Taking the nation in the aggregate, and we find its population and ratio of increase for the several decennial periods to be as follows:

Year.	Population.	Per cent. ratio of increase.
1790	3,929,827	.. —
1800	5,305,937	.. 35.02
1810	7,239,814	.. 36.45
1820	9,638,131	.. 33.13
1830	12,866,020	.. 33.49
1840	17,060,453	.. 32.67
1850	23,191,876	.. 35.87
1860	31,443,790	.. 35.58

"This shews an average decimal increase of 34.60 per cent. in population through the seventy years from our first to our last census taken. It is seen that the ratio of increase at no one of these seven periods is either two per cent. below or two per cent. above the average, thus shewing how inflexible, and, consequently, how reliable, the law of increase in our case is. Assuming that it will continue, it gives the following results:

1870	42,323,341
1880	56,967,216
1890	76,677,872
1900	103,208,415
1910	138,918,526
1920	186,984,335
1930	251,680,914

"These figures shew that our country may be as populous as Europe now is at some point between 1920 and 1930—say about 1925—our territory, at seventy-three and one-third persons to the square mile, being of the capacity to contain 217,186,000; and we will reach this, too, if we do not ourselves relinquish the chances by the folly and evils of disunion, or by long and exhausting war, springing from the only great element of national discord among us. While it cannot be foreseen exactly how much one huge

example of secession breeding lesser ones indefinitely would retard the population, civilization, and prosperity, no one can doubt that the extent of it would be very great and injurious.

"THIS POLICY TO END THE WAR.

"The proposed emancipation would shorten the war, perpetuate peace, insure this increase of population, and proportionately the wealth of the country. With this we should pay all the emancipation would cost, together with our other debts, easier than we should pay our other debts without it. If we had allowed our old national debt to run at six per cent. per annum, simple interest, from the end of our revolutionary struggle till to-day, without paying any thing on either principal or interest, each man of us would owe less upon that debt now than each man owed upon it then, and this because our increase of men through the whole period has been greater than six per cent., and has run faster than the interest upon the debt. Thus time alone relieves a debtor nation so long as its population increases faster than unpaid interest accumulates on its debt. This fact would be no excuse for delaying the payment of what is justly due; but it shews the great importance of time in this connection, the great advantage of a policy by which we shall not have to pay until we number 100,000,000, what, by a different policy, we should have to pay now when the number is but 31,000,000. In a word, it shews that a dollar will be much harder to pay for the war than will be a dollar for emancipation on the proposed plan. And then the latter will cost no blood, no precious life; it will be a saving to both.

"As to the second article, I think it would be impracticable to return to bondage the class of persons therein contemplated. Some of them, doubtless, in the property sense, belong to loyal owners, and hence provision is made in this article for compensating such.

"The third article relates to the future of the freed people. It does not oblige, but merely authorises, Congress to aid in colonizing such as may consent. This ought not to be regarded as objectionable on the one hand or on the other, inasmuch as it comes to nothing unless by mutual consent of the people to be deported and the American voters through their representatives in Congress.

"HOW EMANCIPATION WILL AFFECT WHITE LABOUR.

"I cannot make it better known than it already is that I strongly favour colonization; and yet I wish to say there is an objection urged against the coloured persons remaining in a country which is largely imaginary, if not sometimes malicious. It is insisted that their presence would injure and displace white labour and white labourers. If there ever could be a proper time for mere arguments, that time surely is not now. In times like the present men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and eternity. Is it true, then, that coloured people can displace any more white labour by being free than by remaining slaves? If they stay in their old places they jostle no white labourers; if they leave their old

places they leave them open to white labourers. Logically, there is neither more nor less of it. Emancipation, even without deportation, would probably enhance the wages of white labour, and very surely would not reduce them. Thus the customary amount of labour would still have to be performed. The freed people would surely not do more than their old proportion of it, and very probably, for a time, would do less, leaving an increased part to white labourers, bringing their labour into greater demand, and consequently enhancing the wages of it. With deportation, even to a limited extent, enhancing wages to white labour is mathematically certain. Labour is like any other commodity in the market: increase the demand for it, and you increase the price of it. Reduce the supply of black labour by colonizing the black labourer out of the country, and by precisely so much you increase the demand for, and wages of, white labour. But it is decided that the freed people will swarm forth and cover the whole land. Are they not already in the land? Will liberation make them any more numerous? Equally distributed among the whites of the whole country, and there would be but one coloured to seven whites. Could the one in any way greatly disturb the seven? There are many communities now having more than one free coloured person to seven whites, and this without any apparent consciousness of evil from it. The District of Columbia, and the States of Maryland and Delaware, are all in this condition. The district has more than one free coloured to six whites; and yet in its frequent petitions to Congress, I believe it has never presented the presence of free coloured persons as one of its grievances. But why should emancipation South send the freed people North? People of any colour seldom run unless there be something to run from. Heretofore coloured people, to some extent, have fled North from bondage, and now, perhaps, from both bondage and destitution; but if gradual emancipation and deportation be adopted they will have neither to flee from. Their old masters will give them wages, at least until new labourers can be procured, and the freed men in turn will gladly give their labour for the wages till new homes can be found for them in congenial climes, and with people of their own blood and race. This proposition can be trusted on the mutual interests involved; and, in any event, cannot the North decide for itself whether to receive them? Again, as practice proves more than theory in any case, has there been any irruption of coloured people northward because of the abolishment of Slavery in the District of Columbia last spring? What I have said of the proportion of free coloured persons to the whites in the District of Columbia is from the census of 1860, having no reference to persons called contrabands, nor to those made free by the Act of Congress abolishing Slavery here.

"The plan, consisting of these articles, is recommended, not but that a restoration of the national authority would be accepted without its adoption, nor will the war or proceedings under the proclamation of Sept. 22, 1862, be stayed because of the recommendation of this plan. Its timely adoption, I doubt not, would bring resto-

ration, and thereby stay both. And notwithstanding this plan, the recommendation that Congress provide by law for compensating any State which may adopt emancipation before this plan shall have been acted upon, is hereby earnestly renewed. Such would only be an advance part of the plan, and the same arguments apply to both. This plan is recommended as a means, not in conclusion of, but additional to, all others for restoring and preserving the national authority throughout the Union. The subject is presented exclusively in its economical aspect. The plan would, I am confident, secure peace more speedily than can be done by force alone, while it would cost less, considering amounts and manner of payment and times of payment, and the amounts would be easier paid than will be the additional cost of the war, if we rely solely upon force. It is most likely, very likely, that it will cost no blood at all.

"THE PROPOSED PLAN TO BE EMBODIED IN THE CONSTITUTION."

"The plan is proposed as permanent constitutional law. It cannot become such without the concurrence of, first, two-thirds of the Congress, and, afterwards, three-fourths of the States. The requisite three-fourths of the States will necessarily include seven of the Slave States. Their concurrence, if obtained, will give assurance of their severally adopting emancipation at no distant day upon the new constitutional terms. This assurance would end the struggle now, and save the Union for ever.

"I do not forget the gravity which should characterize a paper addressed to the Congress of the nation by the chief magistrate of the nation, nor do I forget that some of you are my seniors, nor that many of you have more experience than I in the conduct of public affairs; yet I trust that, in view of the great responsibility resting upon me, you will perceive no want of respect to yourselves in any undue earnestness I may seem to display. Is it doubted, then, that the plan I propose, if adopted, would shorten the war, and thus lessen its expenditure of money and of blood? Is it doubted that it would restore the national authority and national prosperity, and perpetuate both indefinitely? Is it doubted that we—her Congress and Executive—can secure its adoption? Will not the good people respond to a united and earnest appeal from us? Can we, can they, by any other means, so certainly or so speedily assure these vital objects? We can succeed only by concert. It is not, 'Can any of us imagine better?' but 'Can we all do better?' Object whatsoever is possible, still the question recurs, 'Can we do better?' The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

"Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. We, of this Congress, will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honour or dishonour to the latest generation. We say that we are for the Union. The world will not forget that while we say this we

do know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We, even we here, hold the power and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free, honourable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of the earth. Other means may succeed. This could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will for ever applaud and God must for ever bless.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"Washington, Dec. 1, 1862."

THE INTERNATIONAL DOCTRINE OF RECOGNITION.

WE purpose to place on record the admirable letters of "Historicus" to the *Times*, on the subject of the doctrine of recognition. We are credibly informed that they are from the pen of Dr. Phillimore.

"To the Editor of the *Times*."

"SIR,—The principles involved in the question, commonly termed the 'recognition of the South,' seem to be so imperfectly apprehended by some recent writers and speakers, and so much confusion appears to exist in the public mind respecting this interesting topic, that I venture to ask your indulgence in an attempt to elucidate the maxims of law and the practice of nations applicable to the matter.

"Nothing is more common than to confound, and yet nothing is more important than to distinguish, in this discussion, that which strictly belongs to the province of law, and that which properly pertains to the domain of policy. Policy might possibly suggest that which law, nevertheless, disallows; and, on the other hand, law might permit what policy, notwithstanding, would dissuade. With the question of policy I do not purpose, except incidentally, to deal. I will, however, ask your leave to indicate the outlines which circumscribe the law of the case.

"The general principle which underlies and forms the substratum of the whole discussion is the fundamental doctrine of the respect exacted by international law for the independence of Sovereign States. Each State is bound in its international relations to observe and respect the sovereignty, however symbolized, of every other State. To deal with the insurgent subjects of another State, on a footing of independence, is to violate the sovereignty of the State which has hitherto exercised dominion over them. As long, then, as persons once owning the relation of subjects to a Sovereign State are still capable of being regarded, in any sense, as such subjects, to deal with them upon an independent footing is a hostile act towards that Sovereign, which, according to the principles of international law, may be justly resented. On the other hand, if persons who once owned the relation of subjects have been able, either by force of arms or otherwise, to divest themselves in a final and permanent manner of the *status* of subjects, then diplomatic transactions with such persons afford no justifiable ground of offence to their former Sovereign, nor can they be regarded as a breach of neutrality or friendship.

As generally happens with all questions of

law, the principle itself is sufficiently clear, but the difficulty lies in its application. When does a subject cease to be a subject is a question of mixed law and fact which is not very easy of solution. The answer is to be looked for rather in the recent and approved practice of nations than in any definitions of textbooks. The old theory of *de jure* and indelible sovereignty which led Louis XIV. and the non-jurors to persist in asserting the sovereignty of the Pretender is now universally abandoned. The sufficiency of a *de facto* independence is admitted by common consent. But still remains the difficult question—what constitutes *de facto* independence? In 1849 the American Government chose to recognise the independence of the Hungarian insurgents. Yet the Powers of Europe generally regarded the recognition as premature. It was true that the revolutionary Government was for a time in complete possession of the territory to which it laid claim. Yet it was thought that their success, though remarkable, might not be permanent. The recognition was, therefore, not justifiable, and proved, in fact, at once nugatory and offensive.

"The modern precedents which have been alleged by those who recommend the immediate recognition of the Southern Confederacy display, in a conspicuous manner, the confusion of the public mind on the question at issue. I observe that Mr. G. W. Bentineck, in a recent speech, relies upon the instances of Belgium and Greece as conclusively settling the head of legality; yet, in truth, Belgium and Greece have nothing whatever to do with the matter in hand. If Mr. Bentineck had been recommending a collective European intervention to settle with a strong hand the disputes between the American belligerents, Belgium and Greece might have served as apposite illustrations. But to cite the action of the European Powers in the affairs of Belgium in 1830 as a case of recognition betrays a total ignorance of facts, and an entire confusion of principles. The Conference of London did not, nor did it profess to, recognise the independence of Belgium: its avowed object was to create the independence of Belgium. Any one who will be at the trouble to examine the history of that transaction will see that Belgium did not pretend, nor did anyone assert on its behalf, that it had achieved a *de facto* independence. On the contrary, it is perfectly notorious, that, after the battle of Louvain, the Dutch army, but for the armed interference of France, would have re-occupied Brussels. The Powers of Europe, which, in 1815, had assigned Belgium to the Crown of Holland, thought themselves entitled, in 1830, in the same European interest, to recast their own plan. The case of Belgium was, therefore, not one of recognition, but of intervention, and is, consequently, wholly impertinent to the present discussion. The interference of the Conference was clearly a hostile act towards Holland, quite inconsistent with neutrality between the combatants; and was one which, if that Power had had either the will or the force, it would undoubtedly have been justified in repelling by arms. But the Conference, confident in its own strength, took upon it a risk which it knew to be inconsiderable, in order to accomplish a settlement, which was regarded as essential to the

peace of Europe. If Mr. Bentineck meant to recommend that the great Powers of Europe should interfere by force to compel the North to acquiesce in the secession of the South, he might perhaps derive some assistance from the history of Belgium; but if he wanted an instance of a state of things where recognition affords no just ground of offence to the former Sovereign, and which cannot be regarded as a hostile act by a friendly Power, the instance of Belgium was wholly beside the question.

"The case of Greece is precisely similar to that of Belgium. Greece never achieved a *de facto* independence; on the contrary, at the moment of the European intervention, the Greek patriots were on the point of succumbing. The European Powers did not recognise, they saved Greece. As a matter of European policy, they thought fit to act in a manner decidedly hostile towards Turkey. The battle of Navarino may have been an 'untoward event,' but it was the natural and almost inevitable consequence of a forcible intervention to prevent the Turkish Government from reducing its subjects to submission. The emancipation of Greece effected by Europe was a high act of policy above and beyond the domain of law. As an act of policy it may have been, and probably was, justifiable; but it was not the less a hostile act, which, if she had dared, Turkey might properly have resented by war.

"There is, however, another example a good deal more to the purpose, viz. the celebrated recognition of the South-American Republics by Mr. Canning. This was a true case of recognition, and not of intervention. The English Government did not pretend to coerce or dictate to Spain. Its action professed to be, and was, in all respects, that of which a friendly Government had no just cause to complain, and was perfectly consistent with an attitude of neutrality. This, then, is the very case which those who wish to recognise the South, and yet not to intervene in the American quarrel, will do well to consider. What, then, was the state of things in the Spanish-American colonies at the time that the English Government thought itself justified in entering into diplomatic relations with them? In the first place, it is to be observed that the resistance of the insurgents to the Spanish authorities had been protracted for nearly twenty years. Over and over again the Government of Spain had itself invoked the mediation of Europe. In Buenos Ayres and Columbia, Spain had entirely abandoned even an effort to establish its authority by arms. In Peru a doubtful struggle was still subsisting between the mother country and the insurgents. Buenos Ayres alone, the soil of which had been free for fourteen years, and had at last acquired a permanent Government, was selected in the first instance for recognition. Though the contest had ceased in Columbia, yet, as that State had perilled her position by detaching all her forces in aid of the Peruvian insurgents, the recognition was postponed, because there appeared still a possibility that the war and the Spaniards might have been brought back into the heart of the country. The recognition of Chili and of Mexico was likewise deferred on account of the uncertainty of their situation.

In the case of Peru, where a 'doubtful struggle' was still being carried on, the question of recognition does not seem to have been thought capable of being even entertained.

"The principles to be deduced from this transaction are clear and intelligible enough. Where the Spaniards had practically abandoned the struggle to re-establish their sovereignty, the State, the independence of which was thus established *de facto* beyond the probability, or almost the possibility, of reverse, was admitted to be entitled to recognition. Where a doubtful contest was still sustained, as in Peru, it seems to have been taken for granted that recognition was inadmissible. While the issue can be still considered in *ambiguo* the presumption is necessarily in favour of the former Sovereign. And a friendly State is bound to exact very conclusive and indisputable evidence that the sovereignty of a Government with which it has existing relations over any part of its former dominions has been finally and permanently divested. This I believe to be the accurate rule of international law, and it is that which was laid down by the Secretary of War in his much-canvassed speech at Hereford. The position insisted upon by Sir G. C. Lewis seems to have been much misunderstood by those who have criticised his doctrine. He is supposed to have maintained that England would not be entitled to recognise the Southern Confederacy until the Federalists had previously done so. But the Secretary of War is far too accurate a thinker and speaker to have laid down any such doctrine. The rule he propounded was precisely that acted upon by Mr. Canning in the case of the South-American Republics, viz. that where a doubtful and *bona fide* struggle for supremacy is still maintained by the Sovereign Power, the insurgents *jam flagrante bello* cannot be said to have established a *de facto* independence. Any one who will be at the trouble to study the profound and luminous speech of Sir J. Mackintosh on this subject (Miscellaneous Works, vol. iii.) will see (p. 462) how essential he thought it to his argument to establish that all substantial struggle for sovereignty on the part of Spain had ceased. The speeches of Lords Lansdowne and Liverpool, in the House of Lords, entirely confirm the same view, and assuredly the reasons which, in 1824, operated against the recognition of Peru, may be more forcibly applied to the present condition of that which, in common parlance, is termed 'the South.'

"It will be seen from the foregoing remarks how little practical bearing the precedents of Belgium, Greece, or South America have upon the existing state of the quarrel in the United States. There is, indeed, an example much more nearly resembling the case under discussion, where a foreign Power thought fit to enter into diplomatic relations with a body of insurgents while the Sovereign State was still engaged in a flagrant contest for the re-establishment of its supremacy. I allude, of course, to the treaty of commerce negotiated by the Court of France with the English colonies in America. As far as our own authority can go, it was decisively established that such conduct was unlawful, and afforded a justifiable cause of war.

In the celebrated declaration drawn up, I believe, by the historian Gibbon, the grounds of the English declaration of war are set forth. England treated the negotiation of a treaty of commerce with the insurgent colonies, while she was still engaged in a contest for their subjugation, as a lawful cause of war, and I have never heard that her right to do so has been disputed. That France anticipated that her conduct would be so treated is apparent enough from the fact, that she thought it expedient at the same moment to conclude with the insurgent colonists a secret treaty of offensive and defensive alliance in contemplation of hostilities with Great Britain.

"As far, then, as any practical rule can be deduced from historical examples, it seems to be this: When a Sovereign State, from exhaustion or any other cause, has virtually and substantially abandoned the struggle for supremacy it has no right to complain if a foreign State treat the independence of its former subjects as *de facto* established; nor can it prolong its sovereignty by a mere paper assertion of right. When, on the other hand, the contest is not absolutely or permanently decided, a recognition of the inchoate independence of the insurgents by a foreign State is a hostile act towards the Sovereign State which the latter is entitled to resent as a breach of neutrality and friendship.

"I now pass to another very perplexing branch of the question, to which it seems to me that public attention has not been sufficiently directed. It is very well, in ordinary conversation, to talk of the 'recognition of the South.' But when it comes to taking diplomatic action, all the evils of a loose phraseology are apparent, and the necessity of precise definition becomes urgent. Before you can recognise a State you must know what it is. Now I have never seen, on the part of the advocates of the immediate recognition of the South, any attempt to define what 'the South' is, what is its extent, or where the line of demarcation is to be drawn. Is 'the South' which we are to recognise to include the Mississippi and New Orleans? If so, what is to become of its *de facto* independence while the Federal gunboats hold the former and General Butler the latter? Is Kentucky North or South? Which is Virginia, and what of Tennessee and Alabama? 'The South' at present is a cloud, apparent enough, and sufficiently menacing, but still a cloud, varying in size and shape with every victory and every reverse, and never presenting the same outline for two mails together. Who, then, is to settle this question of limits? The belligerents have not yet been able to settle it by their arms. Is it we, then, who are to determine what is that 'South' which we are called upon to recognise? In the case of a forcible intervention like that in Belgium and Greece the thing may be done, and accordingly in those cases it was done by force of arms. The Powers of Europe made up their minds what should be the limits of Belgium and Greece, and they compelled Holland and Turkey to acquiesce in their decision. Have we made up our minds what the 'South' ought to be—whether it is to include the Territories and the border States, for instance? And, if so, are we

prepared to compel the acquiescence of the Government of Washington in our new map of North America? It may perhaps be said that we have already recognised 'the South,' with all its vagueness, as a belligerent. But the two cases are obviously quite distinct. Belligerency is a temporary fact, capable of being treated roughly and in the lump. Whereas recognition has to do with a newly-created status of sovereignty, which, being in the nature of a permanent right, necessarily supposes the attribute of exact metes and bounds.

"It is quite clear that one of the most essential elements in the status of the claimant to recognition is, that its limits should be intelligibly defined. I do not say that the boundary line need be laid down with scientific accuracy, but, at all events, that it should be understood in a much clearer manner than it can be yet said to be defined as between the South and the North. It may be suggested that 'the South' embraces all the States which have passed a secession ordinance; but it is obvious that a paper independence is of no more value than a paper supremacy, and that the South is no more independent at New Orleans than the North is supreme at Richmond. The ordinary diplomatic basis of the *uti possidetis* here entirely fails, for the South would be as little disposed to abandon all that it has lost since the commencement of the war, as the North would be to leave it all that it has gained. This question of boundary is the real crucial test. It is a knot which the sword of the combatants alone can unloose. We cannot undertake to untie it. Yet, till it is resolved in some way or other, there can be no practical question of recognition.

"Another argument in favour of recognition has been sought, more plausibly than logically, in the doctrine of the original sovereignty of the several States. Like most fallacious reasonings, this pretext has the capital fault of proving too much. It is introduced to supplement and eke out an insufficient case, when, in fact, if it were well founded, it would be sufficient in itself, without any adjunct. If South Carolina is, and always was, an independent Sovereign State, no struggle for independence was necessary antecedently to her recognition by the European Powers. In this view of the case she might at any time, without an effort to throw off the yoke of the Federal Union, have negotiated a treaty with England. And Charleston, for instance, might have proclaimed a free-trade tariff while the Government of Washington was exacting a protective duty. The argument must go this length, or it is good for nothing at all. The truth is, that from the time that the States chose, for their own interests, and in order to enhance their own importance, to organize and present themselves to the world as a collective Federal Government, foreign nations have ceased to have any thing to do except with that Government which, for the purposes of all foreign relations, the States themselves constituted their representative and plenipotentiary. Foreign Governments can take no more cognizance of the internal relations of the States to the Federal Government than they can of the provinces of Austria or the departments of France. It is

strange that those who insist on this argument do not see that it is absolutely fatal to the recognition of 'the South.' If the States are to be recognised on account of their original sovereignty, it is the several States, and not the Southern Confederacy, which must be recognised. If they are not to be bound, as regards foreign Powers, by their old articles of federation, why is the new Confederacy to be more obligatory? This doctrine, if it proves any thing at all, demonstrates conclusively that 'the South' is only a partnership dissoluble at pleasure, and is not a Government of such a stable and permanent form as any foreign State could or ought to recognise.

"There is only one other point upon which I will venture further to ask your patience. There are many persons who perceive and feel the difficulties and obstacles to a formal recognition of the South, but who think that intervention, in the form of mediation, whether friendly or forcible, might still be tried, in order to put a stop to this horrible strife. Intervention is a question rather of policy than of law. It is above and beyond the domain of law; and, when wisely and justly handled by those who have the power to give effect to it, may be the highest policy of justice and humanity. But in order to this, it is obviously necessary that those who are to intervene should know, and be able to declare, what they are prepared to enforce; or that those who offer to mediate should be in a position to state what they propose to recommend. In the cases of Belgium and of Greece the Powers of Europe knew very well what they intended to accomplish; and they effected their purpose. When Louis Napoleon intervened in Italy he had a policy which he, more or less, carried out. But if Europe is to intervene in America, either by mediation or otherwise, what is the view on which she proposes to act? Whatever may be thought of the original causes and motives of the American quarrel, it is obvious enough, that, in its final solution, the question of Slavery must, in some form or other, be dealt with. Its limits must be defined and its conditions determined. What scheme are the great Powers prepared to recommend, or to enforce, on the subject of Slavery, which 'the South' would accept, and which would not shock the conscience of Europe? Is Europe prepared with a substitute for Mason and Dixon's line, or has it settled a new edition of the Missouri Compromise? Yet, if we are to mediate, it can only be by urging some plan which we approve. What is that solution of the negro question to which an English Government is prepared to affix the seal of English approbation? If the combatants settle the question for themselves, we can accept the result without responsibility. If the matter is to be negotiated through our mediation, we must lend our moral sanction to the settlement at which we assist. There are many things which we cannot help; but there are some things with which it were wise to have nothing to do. And to this latter category I venture to think [most eminently belongs the definition of that permanent line of demarcation which must, no doubt, one day separate the Slave from the Free States of America.

"Temple, Nov. 4."

"HISTORICAL.

THE PRESIDENT'S ABOLITION PROCLAMATION.

THE following is the text of the circular which has been issued to the ministers of all religious denominations by the London Emancipation Society :

"London Emancipation Society,

"65 Fleet Street, E.C., Dec. 9.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,—We beg very respectfully to urge upon you the propriety of giving prominence to the subject of negro emancipation in the religious services, which, in this country at least, always herald the advent of a new year. President Lincoln has appointed the 1st of January 1863 as the day on which he will, by virtue of the powers vested in him, declare Slavery to be abolished in the Rebel States. That day will form the commencement of a new era in American history—an era in which the whole power and authority of the Federal Government will be employed, for the first time, to effect the overthrow of a system that embodies in itself every iniquity known to man. It is therefore, we think, a day eminently worthy of special recognition on the part of the great religious communities of England. Every section of the Christian public cannot fail to rejoice in the prospect of the slave's deliverance, and to pray that Divine Providence may bless the efforts of those who are endeavouring to uproot, at once and for all, an institution which has sought to degrade to the level of brutes four millions of human beings. We ask, then, that, in your New-Year's services, the bondmen of the Southern States may be specially remembered; and that in every church and chapel throughout Great Britain an aspiration for their speedy release from captivity may rise to a just Heaven.

"We do not appeal to you from any political motive, or for any mere party object. We ask only that, in this crisis of the negro's fate, you will remember them that are in bonds as bound with them. Many among the slaves and oppressed coloured people of America are now looking to England for some token of her goodwill. Let us give it to them at a time when it will excite the deepest gratitude on their part, and exert the greatest influence on the public opinion of the United States, both North and South.

"In America, at the present time, the real opinion of this country is grievously misunderstood. There are many in both sections of the Republic who imagine that we have departed from the faith of our fathers. The enemies of human freedom, and of the pure religion of Christ, exult in the belief that the spirit of Clarkson, of Wilberforce, and of Fowell Buxton, has become extinct in the breasts of their successors; that the immortal principles which were embodied in the Acts abolishing the slave-trade and West-India Slavery have ceased to be dear to us as a nation. This should not be. To allow such an impression any longer to exist, to give colour to it by a seeming apathy to the cause of the negro and to the traditions of an illustrious past, is to cast dishonour upon the character and the religion of England. To you, then, we make our

appeal—to you who are the successors, and even, in many instances, the colleagues and friends of that noble band of ministers and churches, to whose labours, far more than to those of statesmen or political parties, the abolition of Slavery in the British colonies must be attributed. We beg of you to render now, as far as you may be able, the same service to humanity which you rendered in that great struggle, and, by the expression of your religious feeling in the way we have indicated, to hasten the day when Slavery and caste shall cease to pollute the soil of America.

"Signed on behalf of the Committee,

"WILLIAM EVANS, *Chairman*.

"F. W. CHESSON, *Secretary*."

ITEM.

AN INCIDENT.—*New York, Nov. 4, 1861.*—To the Editors of the Independent.—An incident occurred in a Broadway omnibus last Friday which may be interesting to your readers. A young Massachusetts volunteer got into the omnibus and took a seat by the side of an aged man bearing the badge of mourning on his hat, who immediately asked him what regiment he belonged to, and what he was going for? "I am going to fight." "And what are you going to fight for?" "To liberate every slave; and there are plenty beside me in our regiment who will do the same if they get the chance." "I am glad of it. I lost two sons at Bull's Run," said the gentleman, "and they went from the same motive." The volunteer was the son of one who died in a Baltimore prison, years back, for the cause of freedom. Brooklyn.—J. T. B.

Advertisements.

OBERLIN COLLEGE, OHIO, UNITED STATES.

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE AFRICAN RACE WHO TAKE AN INTEREST IN THEIR ELEVATION BY CHRISTIAN TRAINING AND EDUCATION.

THE Trustees and Friends of Oberlin College desire again to tender their grateful thanks for the valuable aid afforded to the Institution through their Agents, Messrs. KEEP and DAWES, in the years 1839 and 1840, and at the same time to introduce HAMILTON HILL, its Secretary, who is well acquainted with the present state and prospects of the institution.

Oberlin College is thirty miles west of Cleveland, on Lake Erie, and is in the State Ohio. It was founded in the year 1834.

Its design was to afford the means of a cheap education to indigent students, by enabling them to earn their own living by their labour, as many of them could have no other means of support. This has been accomplished to a great extent, while a large number of persons have been brought within the influence of moral and religious training, and the means of obtaining a good classical or commercial education.

At an early period the college declared itself in favour of the abolition of Slavery, and opened its doors to the coloured race, to be educated on terms of equality with their white brothers and sisters, and thus sought to break down the cruel prejudice against colour, and in every other possible way the institution has assisted the oppressed African race. The coloured people are received on an equal footing with their white brethren in the college and in the places of worship. A deacon of one of the churches is a coloured man.

In consequence of this decided effort to overcome the spirit of caste, (which tends to degrade and hinder the progress of the coloured people,) the college has been deprived of the aid so freely given in America to those colleges where they are not admitted; thus this institution has been sustained with difficulty, although rigid economy has been observed. Hitherto indigent students have not received aid from any charitable fund, but, on the contrary, have relied on their own exertions. This disposition has been encouraged by procuring them employment when practicable. The desire for instruction is so earnest, that some of the students submit to great privation to obtain it.

The periods of study and vacation are so arranged that many of the students are able to earn money as teachers of schools in country places during the winter. On an average it is calculated that from 600 to 700 students usually earn part of their support by teaching and by labour.

One of the peculiar features of the college is, that the young men and young women are educated together; they meet in the schoolroom, and at table, under judicious social regulations. The department for young women is under the control of a Lady Superintendent and a Committee of Ladies: this system has worked very beneficially.

Twelve hundred students have attended at the institution annually, on an average of the last nine years. Many thousands of young men and young women have received a complete or partial education at Oberlin. Among these, ninety-two have been engaged as Missionaries in China, India, Siam, Africa, Jamaica, Hayti, Sandwich Islands, South America, Canada, and among the North-American Indians. Many of the students have become teachers among the native coloured population, and some of them have suffered much in consequence in Kansas and Kentucky, by the oppression and cruelty of the supporters of Slavery.

A large proportion of the 500 coloured students who have been educated at Oberlin have become teachers (and almost the only ones) in the schools for their own race, in the Western States and in Canada. It appears, by careful inquiry, that most of them are still engaged in this important work.

We trust this summary of the results of what has been accomplished by Oberlin College will be deemed satisfactory, as shewing, that, through the blessing of the Lord, its labours have not been in vain.

In order to avoid debt, the Trustees have abstained from an outlay which is urgently needed to complete a building for the accommodation of coloured and other students, the foundation of which is laid and paid for: to finish it an outlay of about 4000*l.* will be required.

In the present distracted state of our country, it is difficult, if not impossible, to obtain aid in America; at the same time, it appears to us, that the improvement, advancement, and welfare of the coloured race can be best promoted by the course pursued at this college: we therefore venture to hope that British philanthropists who have manifested so much interest in the cause of the oppressed will again assist us.

Our Secretary, HAMILTON HILL, who has laboured with us twenty-one years, will be glad to render full information to our friends, and to receive such contributions on behalf of the college, as may be kindly placed in his hands, or addressed to him at No. 10 Wardrobe Place, Doctors' Commons, St. Paul's.

The undersigned, two of the Trustees of Oberlin College, having been appointed to issue this address and furnish the Secretary with the needed documents, commend him, and the object of his mission, to your Christian regards.

(Signed) JOHN KEEP.
HENRY COWLES.

Oberlin College, Ohio,
October 1, 1862.

Any Contributions intended for the college may be paid to G. W. ALEXANDER, Esq., No. 40 Lombard Street, who has kindly consented to become Treasurer.

THE CAMEROONS, AND THE TREATMENT OF NATIVES ON THE COAST OF AFRICA.

THE Prosecution Fund for the Suppression of the Cruelties on the Coast of Africa is still open. Apply to Mr. ALEXANDER INNES, 97 Islington, Liverpool.

TRACTS ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.

Threehalfpence per Dozen.

No. I. "What is the South fighting for;" being extracts from the Speeches of Southerners.

No. II. "The American Crisis," an Address thereon by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Apply at the Society's Offices, No. 27 New Broad Street, E.C.